CHAPTER IV

THE MODERN WAYS AND MEANS OF RESOLVING THE MULTIPLE PROBLEMS TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

After dealing with the multiple disintegrating factors with reference to their origin, causes, effects and affects in detail which are very detrimental to the integrity of India in the earlier chapter, we deal with the modern ways and means of resolving the same to achieve integration in India, through the possible and feasible changes and developments within the Indian Social strata, in this chapter.

Here it is pertinent to mention that 'means' refers 'the way or path' and 'method' means the 'mode or manner'. The modern ways and means of resolving these problems are analysed critically in this chapter. Whereas, the methods and modes of approaching these same problems are dealt with in the final chapter. The methods and modes of approaching these multiple problems along with the ways and means, about which we are much more concerned now, can certainly help solving them (the multiple problems) for the individuals' social unity and solidarity, that automatically leads to national unity and solidarity. We are the nation, a nation is nothing other than each and every individual citizen, grouped together for a noble cause, excellence and emancipation of all humanity, without affecting the cosmic order.
PART I

THE MODERN WAYS AND MEANS OF RESOLVING THE VARIOUS PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA FOR ITS INTEGRATION

In the first part of the previous chapter, we analysed the psycho-sociological problems in India in detail. But the ways and means of solving these problems from the Indian mind is dealt with in this remedy seeking, synthetic or inductive and re-constructive approach.

4.1 THE PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS : THE WAYS AND MEANS OF RESOLVING THEM

As a prelude, let us think a while about the teaching of the father of the nation on the need of elementary equality, i.e., 'Every man has an equal right to the necessities of life even as birds and beasts have. And since every right carries with it a corresponding duty and the corresponding remedy of resisting any attack upon it, it is merely a matter of finding out the corresponding duties and remedies to vindicate the fundamental elementary equality' - The Living Thought of Mahatma Gandhi.

4.1.1 THE UNTOUCHABILITY AND CASTEISM

In India, as long as the practice of untouchability prevails, the existence of casteism is unavoidable.
4.1.1.1 The Backdrops of Continual Practices of Casteism and Untouchability: A Remedial Sought

The continual practices of casteism and untouchability caused much disorders in our society. It compels us to eradicate these anti-social practices. This attempt certainly will bring to focus the backdrops at our societal levels and the need and necessity of getting away from these evil practices, for the unity and integrity of our nation.

(a) The Untouchability and Conversion

V. Nalini, the field investigator, in 1980s, has attempted a functional analysis of conversion based on her field study of a Tamil village and she discusses the problem under the following titles:

(i) The Manifest Functions of Conversion

To remove caste disabilities, social stigma, etc. and to protect themselves from the socially dominant group.

(ii) The Latent Functions of Conversion

To gain material benefits, to increase the number (population), under the persuasion of the 'leader', a shelter of the social deviants and change of names (after conversion) serves as a rich symbol.

(iii) The Disfunctions of Conversion

Cultural marginality, i.e. those converted to Islam easily adopt the dress, diet etc. But they cannot confine their women within the home since women have to work for their livelihood. Estrangement naturally emerges. Now converts refuse to eat with the old relatives. The former do not visit the later and vice-versa and the special problems, e.g. if the husband is converted, the wife also has to follow him, her relationship with her parents is estranged.
(iv) **The Non-functions of Conversion**

Even after conversion, the original lower status is often maintained, the converts constitute a lower segment in the 'new' religion and the latter won't marry the former. Gaining material benefits is only a temporary phenomenon and converts still face hardships from the old or new dominant groups. That is why Ambedkar asserts, "Caste is inconsistent with conversion".?

The above analysis shows that conversion is a pseudo solution to the problem. The problem of hierarchy and disabilities still continues. The Harijans should be integrated into the main Hindu fold. Once we fail to do this, they are likely to be converted. The blot of untouchability should be removed and at the same time the lowest rung also would be exposed and elevated to the highest and finest spiritual development. The lower status is also an 'economic and political' problem. When the lowest rung achieves self-dependence and self-sufficiency they are no more 'lower'. A regeneration of conduct, character and material life is necessary.

**b) The Need for the Removal of Untouchability**

India was colonised by the British not only by their superior might and strategy but by exploiting our internal weakness as well. The division in the Indian society should go before India could rise up as an unified force. The strong notion that we are all the children of God or we all descended from the same ancestors must be cultivated. The notions of dominance and slavery should go. We wanted to achieve India's freedom. But freedom for whom? and for what? Freedom for all. It should be meaningful to the last man (anthyodaya) of our society as well.
India is a giant nation, but still it is weak in several respects. This is mainly because the majority of our people—women, children, Harijans etc. are suppressed. Unless this is changed, India will continue to be a weak nation. The notions of equality, liberty and fraternity have become universal.

(c) The Removal of Untouchability

It is necessary to dilute upon the necessity of the removal of this blot and curse upon Hinduism. Congressmen have certainly done much in this matter. But many of us have looked upon this item as a mere political necessity and not something indispensable, for the very existence of Hinduism and for the peaceful-co-existence of the entire humanity. As far as the Harijans are concerned, every Hindu should make common cause with them and befriend them in their lawful isolation. Such isolation, as perhaps, the world has never seen in the monstrous immensity one witnessed in India. Gandhi says, "I know from experience how difficult the task is. But it is part of the task of building the edifice of Swaraj. And the road to Swaraj is steep and narrow. There are many slippery ascents and many deep chasms. They have all to be negotiated with unfaltering step before we can reach the summit and breathe the fresh air of freedom." What Gandhi meant here is the complete SWARAJ by unity and solidarity.

(d) The Harmonious Communal Unity and Untouchability

Achieving National Integration through communal unity or harmony is our immediate goal. All agreed about the necessity of this unity. But they do not know that unity does not mean political unity which may be imposed. It means an unbreakable 'heart-unity'. The first thing, that is essential for achieving such unity is meant for every man. Whatever his religion may be, to represent in his
own person Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Jew, etc. shortly every Hindu and non-Hindu, he has to feel his identity with every one of the millions of the inhabitants of India. This religious feeling along with the feeling of the removal of untouchability, equality of women, economic equality, eradication of disparity between urban and rural, agricultural and industry, equal opportunity and employment for all, hygiene and sanitation, education based on craft and vocation etc., will surely pave the way for communal harmony. In order to realise this, every man has to cultivate personal friendship with persons representing faiths other than his own. He should have the same regard for the other's faiths as he has for his own.

Paddy grows in a land which has no ups and downs in its level. Likewise peace, happiness or harmony exists in a community where there is no inequality in the spheres of social, economic and cultural. The existence 'caste and untouchability' is a hallmark of disparity and inequality and degradation. Therefore, to establish harmony in the community, caste should go and untouchability eradicated. Harmony finds no play, where there is injustice. Without justice there will be no communal harmony. Therefore, in order to achieve communal harmony, social equality is a pre-requisite. For complete harmony, economic equality is also dispensable along with social equality. The haves and havenots though live in the same nation, they live as separate entities. All should have the basic requirements like food, clothing, shelter, education, medicine, recreation etc., alike.

The next thing required for communal harmony is education. Education should not be a monopoly of a few, or of a certain sections of the community. It should be available to all equally freely. It should make the man understand
that all men are equal, and all are inter-dependent on each other, in contributing to, and sharing from others equally, rights and duties to the community at large. Education should make every man produce for himself and for others without exploiting the neighbour, the spirit of self-help and services to others. Communal harmony implies equal opportunity in all services, including the high and low and sacrifices from all sections of people for the general welfare and more of the national community. The removal of the untouchability is the acid test, to overcome the social inequality and to march towards the achievement of happiness, peace and harmony of the community, otherwise called the kingdom of God on Earth. (Rāmrājya as envisaged by Gandhi).

In such a happy state of things there would be no disgraceful cry, at the stations such as "Hindu Water" and "Muslim Water" or "Hindu Tea" and "Muslim Tea". There would be no separate rooms or pots for Hindus and non-Hindus in the Government schools and colleges and also in the communal schools, colleges and hospitals. The beginning of such ‘revolution’ has to be made by ‘every individual’ without any political motive behind the correct conduct. And hence the political unity will be its natural fruit.

(e) The Implementation of the Ideal Untouchability into Practice

The NCERT, SCERT and State Board Text book societies have rightly propagated by printing in all the copies of the text books to highlight the above view:

Untouchability is a sinful act.

Untouchability is a grave mistake.

Untouchability is an inhuman act (4).
How do these ideals move the hearts of the people of our nation is the major question. The answer for this question must be in positive, at least in the part of children, then only integration is possible. On 26th January 1950, we entered into a life of contradictions, in politics we have equality and in social and economic life, we have inequality. The late V.K.R.V. Rao, Minister for Education, Union Government of India was of the opinion: "How can the people who are divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? "The sooner we realise that we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the word the better for us. For then only we shall realise the necessity of becoming a Nation and seriously think of ways and means of realising the goal".

Definitely the harmonious religious unity could be developed only by eradicating the social evils such as ‘casteism and untouchability’. The reordering of the social order in India is possible only by the proper way of educating the younger generation in the lines of Gandhi, V.K.R.V. Rao, Swami Vivekananda, Shriman Narayan and other contemporary social reformers and Gandhian activists.

(f) Gandhi’s Ways of Educating the Younger Generation: Reordering

To explicate the importance of abolition of untouchability, Gandhi started Satyagraha Ashramat Ahmedabad - Sabarmati and Wardha - Sevagram to experiment his principles, Truth and non-violence. For the conduct of the Ashram, a code of rules and observances was necessary. For the Ashram dwellers, he had made a rule of obeying the following eleven uratas\(^5\) (vows).
AHIMSA (Non-Violence), SATYA (Truth), ASTEYA (Non-Stealing), BRAHMACHARYA (Chastity or Celibacy), APARIGRAHA (Non-Possession), SARIRASRAMA (Bread or Physical Labour), ASVADASARVATRA (Control of Palate), BHAYAVARJANA (Fearlessness), SARVADHARMA SAMANATVA (Unity or Equality of all Religions) SWADESHI (Neighbourliness or Brotherhood) SPARSABHAVANA (Removal of Untouchability or Equality of all Mankind).

Gandhi appealed to the Ashram-dwellers to observe these eleven vratas, with humility and according to their capacity, because all the above vratas can be tried and followed by average men only. But we want to draw the attention towards two of these vratas, namely Swadeshi (neighbourhood) and Sarirasrama (Bread Labour). These are the two fundamental principles of the Gandhian economics. Gandhi emphasised these two vratas because in the public life of India they play an important role and since the development of Gandhian economic thought is closely linked up with the service of Daridranarayana, it is imperative for those, who want to serve Daridranarayana, to accept these two vratas. Spinning and wearing of Khadi are necessary for all who enter the Ashram. They have to contribute in all kinds of manual labour. Khadi is a symbol of Swadeshi and without physical labour the service of Daridranarayana could not be done. That is why these two are very important vows and are to be practised in the lines of all the Ashram Dwellers. Whether all the Ashram-dwellers, practising Gandhians (including educationists) and activists have understood these tenets of, Gandhian economics is open to analysis. They must be the moving spirits in the pursuit of attaining self-sufficiency and self-reliance
through these self-helping means to change and develop the society towards reconstruction for achieving National integration, emancipation and solidarity.

(g) The Process of Achieving Casteless and Classless Society in India

First of all, we must be clear about the relation between caste, tribe, Varna and race. If we take the word, 'race' in its wider sense, we do not believe that there is a very great relation between 'caste' and 'race'. As S.V.Ketkar says, "It is true that in some parts the highest castes are of Aryan descent and the lower ones are of Dravidian descent but this is not universal. The conquering tribe will be of a higher caste; whether it is an 'Aryan' or a 'Dravidian' tribe; the conquering tribes also may be of Aryan 'race', still it would be of low caste, because it is a conquered tribe. The word 'Varna' need not confound us; it is a relic of conditions long gone by". The three different human tendencies, sattva (pleasure or purity), rajas (pain or activity) and tamas (indifference or indolence) (as said to have been influenced Plato and Aristotle as reason, spirit and appetite) are dependent on the impressions i.e., like and dislike. These psychological attitudes may or may not co-operate for mutual co-operation because they are highly dependent on the mental dispositions of man (or) men, conditioned by circumstances.

Therefore, the mutual co-operation among people with their presence or absence, cannot be taken for the creation of discrimination of people into caste, colour, tribe, varna and race. Only the suppressive and oppressive tendencies caused the perpetuity of these discriminations in Indian society. So much so, it is exactly resembling that of all other ill-treatments done to the weaker sections by the dominant elite, lower sector by higher sectors and havenots by haves in the other parts of the world. Therefore, caste, tribe,
varna and race are all not static and permanently applicable, uniformly
to the entire Indian society without any limitation of place of birth,
occupation, customs, culture, religion and social position. From this we
can guess, how we are blindly believing the observance of caste as the basis for
determining the social status of an individual.

The scientific method of classifying the species in biology with reference
to the relative permanence of different characteristics, may be applied in
ethnology. Men should be classified with reference to the degree of permanence
of various physical characteristics. If the progressive ethnologists adopt this, it
would revolutionise the whole science. It would be of a great credit to Professor
Walter F. Willcox when we attempt to classify mankind by carefully
investigating the relative permanence of various characteristics like the skin-
colour, the cranium, the nose, or the physical system. Until such a study is
made it will be a vain attempt to classify on the basis of physical characteristics,
excepting on differences great in themselves and generally admitted to be very
persistent. The psychological, cultural, anthropological, ethnological and psycho-
therapeutic with genetic engineering aid of human anatomy must be critical,
evaluative and analytical in approach atleast now with modern scientific and
technological devices, in order to curb this great social evil viz., the caste-system
in India.

In addition to the scientific studies, without a revolutionary Hindu
religious reform, it is difficult to bring about a major social improvement (or) to
prevent politicising of caste. The caste-system has 'no religious sanction' and
even if it has, it has to be ended in the interest of social cohesion, emotional
integration and national survival. Above all, a 'value system based on individual
humanism' and social cohesiveness has to become a nationally propagated programme, using all the instruments and institutions as its disposal and enlisting the co-operation of dedicated individuals and voluntary organisations and institutions in this process. What the country needs is a 'frontal attack' on the caste-system with its pretentious to some semi-religious sanction. It is this which needs to be countered and replaced by the 'practical vedânta' with which Swami Vivekananda sought to review the basic value system in the Hindu way of life. Without such a 'revolutionary change' in Hindu consciousness, the future of national integration and social harmony in India is bleak.

As Prof. Parvathamma of Mysore University has pointed out, "if religion is private and personal, caste in the Indian context is a social fact which publicly upholds high and low status. If untouchability continues today, it is a part of the caste system. Religion can be used as a powerful instrument of social (or) conservatism, whether it is caste (or) Hinduism which is the strong hold of untouchability is difficult to decide ... The need of the hour is to cut the gordian knot which binds them and allow the religion to float and sink the caste".8 To achieve this goal we must put into practice the teachings of Swami Vivekananda, the mentor in 'positive secularism', such as the common elements in all religions not only worship, prayer, austerities and meditation but also the need for the uplift of the poor, avoidance of conspicuous consumption, simplicity in life-styles, equality of human beings in the sight of God, unity of World community, unity of the power of human moral consciousness, universal brotherhood and universality of god, for our understanding as well as 'SELF-ACTUALISATION' to attain social and universal emancipation.
The common supreme virtues in different religions viz., compassion, work without attachment, devotion without return, renunciation of the personal ego, and service of all men, and especially of poor or maimed or illiterate or disinherited or the Daridranarayanus of this world lead the different followers of different faiths to recognise the one or the universal in order to stimulate mutual respect and promote communal harmony among them. We have to create an egalitarian consciousness in the social and human field and this falls under the perview of the value system. Education, the media, and committed voluntary workers and organisations etc., have to play an effective role in the restoration of the value system, and in this task the co-operation of religious leaders, intellectuals and others influence on public opinion and consciousness should also be enlisted.

If we want to create a 'New social order' in which justice in social, economic and political forums as the Indian constitution promises, it cannot be done by any more planning. But it is the "Teaching profession (teachers) and the student class who have to play the biggest role in this matter, and it is to them and the 'socially dedicated individuals and voluntary institutions in the country that would direct the appeal for helping the 'politics and economics' to take the right direction and more forward to the fulfillment of the national aspiration for the just society that we have promised in the constitution." Hence the constitution is strengthened progressively with modifications from its very inception to till now.
special provisions made for these sections of the Indian population. From 1970-72 onwards, due to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's special efforts, Government of India concentrates seriously on the multi-dimensional problems faced by these Indians. There is a remarkable progress in the livelihood of these tribal people.

(b) The Integrated Development Projects and Approaches

The means of communication, transports and other mass media are developed considerably in order to remove the 'seclusion and isolation' of these tribal communities from the mainstream of Indian social and economic life. The government's integral development projects and the non-government voluntary organisations and institutions started already functioning notably to upgrade the life of these tribal people. Among them 'educational institutions' play much more roles in Nagaland, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and Assam.

These organisations work on the following four approaches viz., social service approach, the religious approach, the political approach and the anthropological approach for integration among the different tribal communities and to a larger extent in India totally. It is to be understood rightly that the establishment of a strong centre with a federal plan structure for integration does not lie with the tribals alone; much more by the rest of the nation. The equality of opportunities in the economic level, can certainly diminish the regional imbalances with the psycho-religious approaches. The socio-cultural solution lies in the realisation of the need for developing intra-and inter-regional understanding and mutual toleration and respectfulness for each other's languages and ways of life. But the genius of Indian civilisation is to co-exist in
unity with disparities. However, they need not affect our political and economic interdependence at the national level.

(c) The Patriotic Endeavour

The political system must be a comprehensive composite index of nationalism, and nationalities for India’s integration. It is the responsibility of the centre to foster the ‘national interests’ that is very rightly observed by Ramesh Thaper, “the future is dependent largely on the degree to which the centre can assert itself not as a ‘mix’ of contradictory regional involvements, but as supreme arbiter of the national ‘interests’. The leaders of the scheduled areas have also to play their rightful roles in this regard in the name of patriotism.”

4.1.3 THE SOCIALLY AND EDUCATIONALLY BACKWARD CLASSES IN INDIA: THE REMEDIAL MEASURES

4.1.3.1 The Ways and Means of Removing the All Kinds of Backwardness

Let us analyse critically how the caste-system stands as the barrier for social-cohesion and for National unity. The continual preferential treatment to the backward classes by the Governments tempts really the people at large. How are we going to stop this backward looking approach, with the help of development projects and processes? This is the matter of our study here.

(a) The Fate of the Untouchables

How to reconcile the caste-concept with the economic aspect for the determination of backwardness or inclusion in the weaker classes, still remains an unsolved question in the Indian social and economic planning. But there can be no doubt about the validity of what Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had said about the baneful effects of the caste system in Indian Society. The country is being
threatened today with prospects of caste becoming a permanent feature of Indian Society, because of the use of the caste criterion in determining backwardness for special treatment. Incidentally, caste is also threatening to dilute the special treatment (and the benefits there from) given by the constitution to the major victims of the caste system, namely, the untouchables, who were kept outside the pale of the caste system and have now been dignified by the constitution with the nomenclature 'scheduled castes'. The battle that is now going on is not with the top or so called forward caste people of the Hindu system who were morally responsible for the theory and practice of the caste system in India, with all its rigidities and social discriminations. But the battle is in between the intermediate castes' people who did not suffer the ostracism and the social stigma that was the 'fate of the untouchables' and the untouchables themselves. So much so, the act of untouchability has now been abolished by Article 17 of the constitution. And the battle is for sharing material benefit conferred by the state on backwardness, but while claiming the material benefit attached to backwardness, these backward classes also insist in the practice of maintaining their caste superiority over their untouchable brethren. And there are others, who do not come under the category of either scheduled castes or scheduled tribes or other backward classes, but are 'individually backward' as any of them in their economic or educational status or way of life. They advance the ideology of social justice to take note of their backwardness and help in improving their condition.
(b) **The Paradox of Indian Backwardness**

It is delineated on the basis of differing criteria sought to be applied to minorities and Hindu castes who are called 'other backward classes', and 'individuals' irrespective of their caste or religion who are identified with economic or educational or other forms of backwardness. Recently, the most backward class (M.B.C.) distinction stands in between Backward, SCs and STs classes, in the state of Tamil Nadu. The remedy sought is reservations in educational institutions, economic assistance and special economic programmes, and the assumption implicitly made is that these would result in the elimination of all types of backwardness and the establishment of social cohesiveness and national integration among the Indian people.

(c) **The Renewal of Backwardness**

The removal of economic, social and cultural, backwardness in all sections of society, is certainly a just and acceptable social objective, consistent with the constitutional promise of "a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life." And it can be operable in terms of the comprehensive social planning. But the question is 'whether this can be achieved' in the context of the caste system in Hindu society, and a policy of 'secularism' that leaves out of state regulation, the working of religious institutions that deny the concept of mutual respect of all religions and the fraternity of all human beings irrespective of the faiths they profess. These are all the very acute problems still prevailing without any solution in the present day society of Indian continent.
(d) The Method of Tackling Backwardness

Whether untouchability or economic backwardness or social backwardness is identified with either on group or individual criteria is a problem to be studied and analysed. In this connection, we have to recognise the distinction between 'classes' who are made up of 'individuals' who have only their economic conditions in common, and castes who are constituted by birth and form an 'enduring group' irrespective of the differing economic conditions of their individual members. As pointed out by Prof. Beteille that the distinction between an 'aggregate of individuals' and an 'enduring group is of fundamental significance to the sociologist. Directly opposed to this is the view of the learned chairman of a state backward classes commission, Mr. L.G. Havanur, who has stated in his report thus: "class is synonymous with 'caste or tribe' as far as 'Hindus' are concerned, with 'racial or tribe' group as far as tribal communities are concerned, and with 'section or group' as far as 'Muslim, Christian and other religious communities and denominations' are concerned". Mr. Havanur's obvious emphasis is on 'the group' rather than 'the individual' for the identification of backwardness as pointed out by Beteille, leaves very little room in the 'new legal order' for any mode of classification other than those inherited from the past. And a new legitimacy has been given to the traditional divisions into castes and communities by the caste politics, minority politics and the politics of backwardness that have been increasingly dominating the Indian political scene since independence and the emergence of 'parliamentary democracy' based on adult franchise. In the process, the distinction is being forgotten between the disabilities from which the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes suffered as whole groups and therefore as individual members,
and those suffered by individual members of specified Hindu castes and other communities. Nor must it be forgotten that the economic backwardness of India as a whole has contributed much to the creation and maintenance of a very rigid system of social inequality. Further more, while traditionally there has been a strong emphasis on 'collective as opposed to individual identity', this has been ideologically based on the distance between 'purity and pollution', and it was the 'stigma of pollution' rather than 'poverty' that has defined social inferiority.

e) The Need of a New Legal Order

As Beteille states: There is no rigid connection between the collective ritual status of a caste (the untouchables were kept outside the caste system altogether and treated as inferior to all Hindu castes irrespective of their relative status among themselves) and the actual material condition of its members. In fact increasing disassociation is taking place both in Urban and Rural areas between caste and income, caste and occupation, and caste and education."

The above view must compel the 'new legal order' to enable the individual to bring his needs to the attention of the state on his own right without the mediation of his caste. His understanding as a sociologist of Indian citizenship as an unmediated relationship between the individual and the state and the very antithesis of the traditional idea that caste membership is an inextinguishable jural capacity and the basic credential for citizenship which also has relevance when we consider our national experience in tackling the problem of backwardness in Indian society, nor must we forget his warning. As V.K.R.V. Rao requests "Above all, in the context of Indian society, here and now, we must realise that the alternative to 'individualism' may not be the cherished
an out of way (by accepting the recommendations of Mandal Commission) without considering the advices of the national leaders with the diverted views recommended by this commission, with constitutional and legal means for the renovative, re-constructive, need based and fast developmental oriented policy, only for the ‘welfare of all’. The governments will obey and co-operate till we determine that there is no backwardness. That status that we aspire to reach very soon is the stepping stone towards the attainment of egalitarian society. More so, it is the duty of the governments to explain the scripturally baseless condition of caste system, to remove the false notions of pollution and discrimination among the Indians.

It is very obvious that even if we adopt the economic criteria for determining the backwardness like caste etc., the same inequality would remain as such the same but the problems will turn into further more complications. How is it possible to fix the national minimum income to each individual in India? Therefore, it is good after some period i.e., six years upto 2000 A.D. with the prompt services rendering to the ‘socially and educationally backward classes’ in addition to the services doing as usual to the most backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, there must be a ‘OVERALL STOP’ for all categories of people who get constitutional provisions for benefits to remove all kinds of ‘social, cultural and economic’ backwardness. For which, there must be a nationwide, re-constructive planning for all developmental forums, principles, the ‘art of living by practice’ i.e., production through proper modern appropriate technology based education, for self-reliance, self-confidence, self-sufficiency and self-realisation by ‘self-actualisation’. Instead of vocational education, ‘vocationalised education’ alone can solve these multi-dimensional
problems in India with constant approaches and plannings. This is the 'unconditional command', (from each one's inner conscience) that the central and state governments should respond it concretely without further delay not only for the 'social change, cohesion and renaissance' but also for the upliftment of the entire Indian society to achieve 'equality' and thereby uprooting the caste-system from the hearts and minds of the Indians. The continual implementations of the modern innovative vocationalisation principles (vide: the next chapter) with fixed heavy budgets with short and long-term objectives, alone could eradicate these social barriers (inequality and caste-system), for the national integrity and solidarity. We hope that the day will come soon to make it in reality, the dreams of great leaders like Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and other leaders of pre and post-independent periods and the present veteran leaders in establishing a 'casteless and classless society' in India, with a panoramic vision of enlightened United India.

But we should have a precautionary measure in tackling backwardness. While doing so, we must look back our past National Independence experiences, as the model and method for our success, without pinching any class or section of Indian people. Because, this issue is very intimately connected with our own class or group identity. At the same time, it is the bounden duty of the central and state governments, to instruct and imprint in the minds of the people the absence of scripturally based religious sanctity for caste-discrimination in India. The importance of establishing a 'casteless and classless nation' and the 'detrimental effects' of castes as the criterion for determining the backwardness must be explained to the people in details. More so, the people should respond
to the call of the nation to think and find out, how these factors question the very existence of India, as a nation.

It is obviously good that we have abolished 'Suttee' (Sati) which claimed religious sanctity, raised the age of marriage for girls (21 age) inspite of Shastri injunctions (Indian Custom of Child-marriage). It is better that we have legalised divorce (for right causes) and widow remarriages despite of religious orthodoxy by setting up a new Hindu Civil Code enshrining 'equality' before the law in place of the discriminatory Manusmriti of ancient and revered Hindu vintage. But it will be a best innovative and re-constructive step if we abolish the castes by law so that atleast legal recognition can be taken away from this social cancer in Indian society, in addition to the new value-based, new National, education-system (1986), with the imbibing of 'the insatiable desire of establishing the 'casteless and classless nation' through the integral remedial measures of central and state governments all kinds of machineries and other private and public sectors.
PART II

THE MODERN WAYS AND MEANS OF RESOLVING THE VARIOUS CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDIA FOR ITS INTEGRATION

In the second part of the previous chapter, we analysed the various cultural, political and economic problems in India in detail. But the ways and means of resolving these multifaceted problems are dealt with here, by the process of imbibing the principles of ‘unity or integrity and diversity’ of the nation, India, in thoughts, words and deeds of each and every independent integrated citizen.

4.1 THE CONSTRUCT OF NATIONHOOD IN INDIA: THE REMEDIAL MEASURES

Among the four ‘tangible’ elements, the first three are considerably achieved but the fourth requirement of ‘a common communicative oral medium’ is not yet achieved in India. For which, a suggestive remedy is sought in the sub-division the linguistic remedy for India’s Unity, P.172 in this part itself.

But the absence of ‘intangible’ elements fully in all the citizens of our country, is the core or substratum for all disintegrating elements in India. An attitude of mind in ‘every citizen’, ‘every group or section’ and even ‘the nation’, to think and act reciprocally, for the development of the entire nation is lacking in every one of us. Therefore, it opens the way for total re-vamping of our value-system, through this suggestive educational means of NEO-EXISTENTIO-PROGRESSIVE RE-CONSTRUCTIVE INNOVATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF
EDUCATION for the attitudinal change of mind, will, and body with care, concern and conviction (3C's), in order to improve the attention, adherence and actualisation (3A's) for the realisation of individual integrity in collaboration with the ideals of basic education of Gandhi and the democratic trinity (triple) values of liberty, equality and fraternity, in the 'art of living by practice' (vide; The two Model Buildings pp271 and 512) as the cherishing goals for the integrity of every citizen of India and the unity of nation.

We must be very clear that "The crisis what our country faces today in national integration is not just an economic or political or social crisis. It is essentially a crisis of values". So it could be re-vamped (renovated) only by these proper educational means and methods (vide; Appendix - Article No.4).

4.2 THE PRACTICE OF SECULARISM IN INDIA: THE REMEDIAL MEASURES

While we got freedom (1947), we have not got the provision of the concept of "secularism" in the national practices. Even after the constitution is framed and accepted (1950) and also upto 1976, we have got only sovereign, democratic and republican values. More so, the term 'secular' or 'secularism' is highly misunderstood by different people in different contexts. But the significance of this term in the constitution after 1976, implies that the belief that state, morals, education, etc; should be independent of religion i.e., there is no provision for any religion in the states or national fabric. It is not the disregard or rejection but of tolerance and due respect for all religions, irrespective of their place of origin, influence, appeal and importance. People often so attached to their faith they profess because of their spiritual development. It is highly appreciable. But it is very wrong to criticise others who profess their own
religious faiths. There comes the room for the development of communalism, Regionalism-cum-communalism, the religious antagonisms and other forms disintegrating factors.

4.2.1 The Means of Resolving Communalism

In India there prevail tensions in group, caste and communal relationships. Some of these tensions have a long history while others have developed during recent years. The latter have now increased on account of the disturbance of the social and political equilibrium. The Indian nation is fully alive to this situation and in stressing ‘secular democracy’ as its avowed aim, it has set its face resolutely against both the ‘forces of revivalism and reaction’. But the spread of democratic ideas and institutions requires a ‘more positive approach’ and this would be possible by developing understanding and mutual acceptance of group norms and cultural values. In order to achieve this “Democracy undertakes the responsibility of educating its constituents, of understanding their needs, their customs and mores, their anxieties and their hopes and fears.” The schools in the country have to concern themselves seriously with the eschewing of communalism from the minds of the present and future generations by all means.

4.2.2 The Regionalism Vs Democracy

The Regionalism, which is at once cramping and debasing, is yet another stumbling block for fulfilling the goals of democracy. In fact, our states have cultural and linguistic divisions. These cultural and linguistic factors of a section of the population do create a sense of solidarity which may be a desirable thing. But the other horn of the dilemma is that they generate hostile and narrow-minded separatist tendencies and develop ‘exclusiveness’. These
fissiparous tendencies release themselves at least in two ways and strike at the root of the unity of the country which is a cardinal principle in the preamble of our constitution. One way of its manifestation is the undue and unwholesome exaltation of the provincial loyalty, the Juggernaut of which may crush the individual’s democratic rights of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity etc. As India is administratively, split into more than two and a half dozens of units or states, they give rise to local pride and patriotism. It is a notorious platitude in the country to say that if there are many people in an office or a government department and if they all hail from a particular state, admittance and stay therein by a person of another state is very difficult, if not impossible. This is a charge which can be rightly bevelled against the people of many other regions in India. For which, the inculcation of panoramic or broad visioned outlook is necessary.

4.2.3 The Hindu-Muslim Antagonism

The main problem in India is the problem of Hindu-Muslim antagonism. This phenomenon assumed serious proportions with the advent of the British and was in fact to a large extent a creation of the imperialists, a working out of the policy of ‘divide and rule’. Prior to the British rule, there is no record of Hindu-Muslim riots or communal tensions affecting the mass of the people. There were wars between Hindu and Muslim rulers. There were attempts to persecute persons belonging to certain religious faiths by the rulers, but all this fell into the category of oppression by the rulers against a section of the subjects, but not as the religious antagonism. This fact is highly admitted in the words of this Simon commission report: “In British India a generation ago... communal tension as a threat to communal peace was at a minimum. But the
coming of the reforms and the anticipation of what may follow them have given new point to Hindu-Muslim Competition”.¹⁴

4.2.4 The Means for Developing Constructive Social Cohesiveness

The congregational worship, prayers and sermons linking Hindu religion with progressive ethical values etc. have a place in the change of the Hindu way of life. The value system, of course, is to be extended to all the other communities in ways suited to their way of life and educational and religious practices. This would go a long way towards helping the country to achieve its declared goal and a just, good and egalitarian society with human dignity social cohesiveness, harmony and national integration. A ‘new approach’ to Indian basic values of Indian culture and heritage, for social planning is the must. The values of discipline, caring and sharing, egalitarianism, social justice, uplift of the backward classes and regions, ban on conspicuous and vulgar consumption and propagation of self-reliance must be imbibed not only at the national level but also in the local and family (household) levels. We must revive our self-confidence, in the spirit of humanity and dedication and re-create the institutions, of higher study and research into ideal centres of Indian culture, and at the same time focal points of a raw but more humane world or global order.

4.2.5 The Means of Realising the Fundamental Truth of All Religions: The Vision of Gandhi

It is the new humane order which Sri Aurobindo called, the radical transformation. He hypothetically appeals that if humanity is to survive, a radical transformation of human nature is indispensable. In addition to this, the necessity of ‘spiritual regeneration’ is also sought by Shriman Narayan. We may
be able to land on the moon, pluck the stars and fly triumphantly to the
countless solar system but, so long as the mind of man is not metamorphosed
under the powerful rays of spiritual regeneration, the prospects of establishing
humane just and peaceful 'secular' society would continue to remain bleak and
perilous.

A true religion must forbid to be little or disregard other cultures, as it
insists under the pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living our own. Gandhi
often used to say 'all religions are not for separating men' from one another, but
they are meant to bind us, we have to co-exist. For that our mind is to be
cultivated. Cultivation of tolerance and respect for other faiths will impart to us
a truer understanding of our own. We must have strong belief in 'the
fundamental Truth' of all great religions of the World. They are 'All God given'
and necessary for the people to whom these religions were revealed. If only we
could read the scriptures of the different faiths from the standpoint of the
followers of those faith, we should find that they were at the bottom 'all one' and
were all the helpful to one another as sons of the family, with father and sons,
and brothers and sisters, as long as the inhabitants of one and the same nation,
'India', with the genuine faith on "only one God" as the Vedas sing.

4.3 THE CULTURAL PROBLEMS: THE REMEDIAL MEASURES

4.3.1 The Means of Developing Inter-cultural Unity

In India, in addition to communities based on different economic or
professional interests which exist in any other society, there exist also a number
of communities based on religion, sect and caste, each claiming intense loyalty
of the individual. This makes the task of the nationalists much more difficult.
Thus we will see that if we distinguish between the political unification of the
Indian people, or the emergence of Indian nationalism at the political level, and the development of a strong consciousness of nationality based on community of cultural characteristics, it is easier to achieve the development of 'political nationalism' than that of 'nationalism of an ethnic - cultural' kind, assuming that the latter were desirable. While we do have many strong factors working perceptibly or unperceptibly, towards the political unification of India, we do not have equally strong factors working towards the creation of 'single cultural nation' at the Pan-Indian level.

4.3.2 The Mode of Assimilation Different Indian Cultures: A Gandhian Approach

It is highly pertinent to remember Gandhi were, for our new approach to the Indian values, culture and heritage. "It stands for synthesis of the different cultures that have come to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that, in their turn, have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the soil. This 'synthesis' will naturally be of the Swadeshi type, where each culture is assured its legitimate place, and not of the American pattern, where one dominant culture absorbs the rest, and where the aim is not towards harmony, but towards an artificial and forced unity".

He further exclusively highlights the uniqueness of Indian culture. Nothing can be farther from his thought than that we should become exclusive or barriers. But, he respectfully contends that an appreciation of other cultures can fifty fellow, never precede, an appreciation and assimilation of Indian culture. It is his firm opinion that no culture has treasures so rich as India. We have not known it, we have been made even to deprecate its study and depreciate its value. We have almost ceased to live it. An academic grasp,
without practice behind it, is live an embalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look at but nothing to inspire or ennoble.

4.3.3 The Vision of Realising the Composite Culture in India

Indian culture has been enriched and diversified by the contribution of the diverse religious faiths. But only a few Indians know about our composite culture; and still fewer take pride in its being a national possession. We do not know how to discriminate the ‘unifying forces’ from the divisive ones in the cultural or social or political past. Because the Indian educational systems had not guided us properly in these very important aspects. But without the knowledge, Indians too contributed much for the unity and solidarity by the poems, novels, plays, essays, paintings, sculpture, buildings, archaeological monuments, public works, and ‘administrative innovations’

Thus: "The Vedas upanisads, Gītā, Ramayana, Mahābhārata, Kālidasa’s Shakuntala and Meghadohta, Bhagavata, the Pancha-Tantra, Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra, and the magnificent temples and archaeological monuments of Konarak, Khajuraho, Ellora, Ajanta, Elephanta and Kanheri caves, Taj Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri, Qutub Minar, Mount Abu, Baha’i lotus Temple, Charminar, Birla, Helebid and Shravanabelgola are all ‘cultural treasures’ of which every Indian can be proud. They may have religious significance to the Hindus or Buddhists or Jains, but they have cultural significance for the other Indians who are muslims or christians or even agnostics or atheists."21

Therefore, what we have to do now is to get the co-operation of voluntary organisation, intellectuals, writers, journalists and artists, teachers and students, and all educational institutions to harness this missionary propagation of the Indian common by composite culture (Figure No.1, p.169) The mass media in addition to daily, weekly and monthly newspapers especially in the Indian
languages certainly lay the cornerstone of the magnificent edifice of Indian's unity and solidarity and the national unification without any distinction of persons belong to different cultures is the right means of promoting emotional integration in India.

4.3.4 The Human Solidarity and Cultural Linkage: A Figurative Approach

As the figurative explanation 'Human solidarity and cultural linkage' explicits the different persons from different regions namely North, South, West and East in India. It is the fact that the spherical representation (Fig. No. 1, P.166) includes also the North-West, North-East, South-West and South-East regions i.e., the whole of Indian Continent. Each region is represented by a single person figuratively as A, B, C and D with different cultural backgrounds in one and the same Indian continent itself.

The centre or Nucleus of the sphere or a single cell (India for instance) is the core element of assimilation for the development of common by composite culture through modernity, civilisation and socialistic democracy with Gandhian life - giving ideals for achieving national integration in India. As this core grows from the centre to the periphery centrifugally, it so absorbs and assimilates all the distinctive co-valent elements of different cultural regions (all 25 states and 7 union territories) and make it ever-living, developing and progressive as a common by composite culture, 'Indianness'. For which, the New Education Policy, 1986, could play much more role than the other elements of modernisation because it gives much more provisions for transmission, transformation and transliteration of cultures in order to achieve 'Indianness', as the unique, COMMEMBut COMPOSITE CULTURE in the world.
HUMAN SOLIDARITY
AND CULTURAL LINKAGE

A, B, C & D:
are the persons from different cultures
4.4 THE LINGUISTIC REMEDY FOR INDIA'S UNITY: A COMMON ORAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

The famous statesman V.K.R.V. Rao has suggested a possible method of developing an all Indian Common Oral Communicative Language, as Gandhi wished as the first person in India long back, to solve the language issues. Let us analyse the process - yet to be under our favourable consideration for achieving unity and integrity in India, as the necessity at large.

4.4.1 The Need of the Common Oral Communication

The written communication is not so required for direct communication, mass organisation and emotional and national integration but only the traditional oral communication link alone required for it at present, to smoothen the democratic process. If it so, it justifies, the stand of the Father of the nation, to hold Hindustani (as Hindi in the oral form) as the national language. Here, it is worthwhile to mention the interpretation of C.D. Deshmukh's contribution of three levels of any language in its identity. They are colloquial, (its primary identity (or) Hindi-Hindustani), literary (it is a Sanskritised Hindi, Hindi-urdu (or) persianised Urdu) and technical Hindi, (Higher Literary, scientific and technical usage in written form, Sanskritised Hindi than persianised). But, here we have to apply the Article 351 of our constitution, for diluting the measure of Sanskritisation by its admixture with Hindustani and other written regional languages to get the higher literary form for Hindi.

4.4.2 The Development of a Bridge

Therefore, a bridge across India's many languages enables the particular linguistic group to have an access for understanding and appreciation towards the other languages. It is nothing but the common script as mentioned in the
article 351 of the Indian constitution. As we know, it is not possible to learn all
the 1652 mother tongues prevalent in India, but it is easy to learn as many as
we can according to the need, necessity and aspiration with the help of a
common script, as the best via media or bridge.

4.4.3 The Necessity of the Common Script

The use of the common script is not just an educational or linguistic
matter, but is equivalent to strengthen the entire India with a common weapon
of defence. "Facilitating inter-communication among the multi-lingual masses
of India will be the biggest single step for bringing about emotional integration
and building up a common sentiment of Indian nationality". The diagrammatic
explanation (Vide: Figure No.2 P.171) could explain the various methods and
means by which we can meet out the dangers of multi-linguism, with a confined
and combined process of gaining the common oral script for All India
communication, in addition to the Technical and written forms of developing one
and the same language "Hindi" for easy access and unity or integrity of the
Nation, India.

4.4.4 The Method of Developing the Common Language

Hindi, English, Regional languages and Urdu are the possible languages
in the oral and written forms for consideration at present in India. If so,
Devanagari, Roman, Regional scripts, Arabic are the relevant scripts
respectively.

(a) The Bilingual Script: The Technical Hindi

It is not possible to take up the Arabic script as the second script for
learning Hindi because of its secular persian mixture. But Roman script can be
taken up as the second script for learning Hindi particularly in the non-Hindi
The Written Hindi

But the problem is here with regard to the development of only one common language for India. The Indian constitution also compels the union government by its Article 345 to "recognise the Hindi language as one of the official languages of the Union". This portion of the Article 345 stresses the importance of Hindi as the common language for Indians. It can be developed only by the Hindi writers in the non-Hindi regions and the lower and knowers of Hindi can improve the assimilation of Hindi with Hindustani (mixing of written and oral) Hindi.

Hindustani - The Only Hindi

In addition to this written Hindi, a special effort is needed to make the
oral common communicative form, that Hindi is "to serve as a medium of
tongue", for all the elements of the composite culture of India.
A COMMON COMMUNICATIVE ORAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

Diagram of language categories:

- Hindi
- Regional Language
- English

- Hindi-Regions
  - Technical Hindi
  - Devanagari Script
  - Hindi
  - Regional Languages

- Non-Hindi Regions
  - Oral Hindi
  - Written Hindi

- English Known People
  - Written Hindi
  - English
either with the help of their regional script or with the help of Roman script learn oral or written form or both according to their need and necessity. Even if Indians are not interested to learn English in the Schools and Colleges, it is the necessity to learn it because of its international status.

Therefore, the need of a common communicative ‘oral Hindi’ for India’s emotional/national integrity or the oneness/Indianness of the Indian people, can be developed with the help of the respective regional language of each state, for the students of adult education and Roman script for English known ones and Devanagari for Hindi speaking people. (Vide: Figure No.2, P.171) - ‘A Common Communicative Oral Language for India’. Hence the fundamental philosophical principle ‘Unity in Diversity’ holds good in this unifying pursuit.

4.4.5. To be a Nation - India

It is true that language can either divide or unite. But it depends on the policy that a nation follows. Therefore, India must be firm and fix in the ideals and fundamentals rather than the clouded temporary passions and short term expediencies. The bridge of inter-communication with access and understanding, is to appreciate the oneness that finds in all the Indian languages. The ‘unity and diversity’ must be understood, in a proper sense with the specific and individualistic characteristics of each language that contributes it’s might for the common identity of developing a single, only one language, for the promotion of National and emotional integration within India and open a way for international relations. Let India make the possible ways and means of developing this common oral communicative linkage from the primary classes onwards in the states as we do for the regional and English languages to achieve unity among the Indians. To be a nation is to unite, and to cease to unite is to cease to be a Nation.
If India is to be a nation with the objective and subjective criteria, the Indians must be united in mind, will and body. The development of the ‘attitude of mind’ to serve for oneself, family, society and nation, is the primary requisite for each one’s integrity. If he is not united and dedicated so, it is the explicit sign that India is declined to be a nation. Therefore, India as a nation, rests on the every individual citizen of its own. India - nation - unity - society - family - individual citizen, are the inclusive constituent factors, in the formation of the United or integrated India - nation.

The building up of such a feeling of ‘oneness’ in all the languages, certainly help the masses to be united easily than an army to defend a nation. An army can be defeated, but no nation can be conquered. It must be achieved through a ‘long process’ with voluntary efforts of all the masses and classes of a country. Therefore, money should be no consideration in implementing this programme, and speed should be the essence of it. The threat to the national unity or integrity arising from the want of inter-lingual communicative language is like the threat of war; and it must be faced and conquered with similar firmness, conviction and determination. The whole project must be treated as a defence, with priority, speed and efficiency on a war-footing during the time of emergency. Let us hope for the best atleast now, it is not too late to implement this project in a major scale. The possible grounds are paved already, through the C.B.S.E., matriculation, Kendriya Vidyalaya, Navodaya Vidyalaya and other types of institutions’ run by governments, public trusts and other minority and private sectors, for the universal application of this programme in all the states (without any exception) and union territories in India, without any difficulty like earlier.
4.5 The Political Problems in India: The Remedial Measures

4.5.1 Union-State Relations

The union or centre - state relations should be made more precise, possibly allowing the states greater autonomy and financial resources. An inter-state council should be established in accordance with article 263 of the constitution which will deal not only with inter-state disputes but recommend positive measures to secure effective co-ordination of policy and action between the states and the centre.

The speciality of this type of structure of the Indian government is neither central nor state domination over the country. What is needed is a central-state governance of India, its development through partnership, discussion, dialogue and consensus as Gandhi aspired, on matters of common interest and concern, without diluting either state or union responsibilities in matters which fall within their exclusive domain. Even in matters of their respective development and government fields, there should be exchange of information, technical guidance, co-ordination to the extent needed, and development of a 'national-state integrated consensus'. Autonomy means 'self-reliance' that means 'self-help' in the words of Gandhi. How can we foster this type of government better than the way what we do in the recent past? This is the major issue to preserve our national unity. Here comes the importance of our former central Education Minister V.K.R.V. Rao's glaring appeal: What we now need in our politicians is not only dedication to state interests but also devotion to national unity. They have to take to the 'Gandhian approach' in their relation with their own local governments, their sister state governments and their father, union government, dialogue, discussion, compromise, self-abnegation and sharing are all a part of
the new life that they have to learn to live, if they are to make a success of state
autonomy". Therefore, the relation between union and states must be like
union of states with a near federal set-up, and state-autonomy linked with
national identity. By this, India will continue to grow as one nation, with unity
and diversity and partnership instead of domination or dependence. It must be
the 'conviction' rather than the convention and faith.

Therefore, we should remember that India is not a unitary state, nor is
it a federation in the orthodox and historical sense of the term. There can be
neither central nor state domination over the country. But, "What is needed is
a Central-State governance of India and its development through partnership
and discussion, dialogue and consensus on matters of common interests and
concern, without diluting either state or union responsibilities, in matters which
fall within their exclusive domain." Even in matters of their respective domain,
there should be exchange of information, technical guidance, co-ordination, to
the extent needed, and development of a national-state integrated consensus.

4.5.2 The Decentralisation of Power

The concept of decentralisation reminded the Gandhian way of
government. Long ago, in 1909, Gandhi wrote a small but very important work
the first one of his many books entitled 'Hindu Swaraj' or Indian Home rule. It
was written during his return voyage from London to South Africa, in answer
to the Indian School of violence. He felt that violence was no remedy for India's
ills. He also convinced that her 'civilisation' required the use of a higher weapon
for self-protection, that is Satyāgraha.
communities, for nationally oriented citizenships? The very simple answer to these questions is, as the people so the government. So, first of all the Indians must correct themselves. How are they going to correct and change themselves? - must be the matter of discussion now by all means. For that atleast, the government must come down to put its problems before the people through "Zilla Parishads, Taluk boards, Mandal Committees, Panchayat Samitis, and Gram Panchayats, that the heart of good governance really resides".27 For which, government can use all possible means of 'vocationalisation of education' through NPE, 1986, mass media, seminars, public meetings, and other constructive programmes and projects, to strengthen the minds of the people, for the change over of centripetal to the centrifugal government. More so, the people must be educated to be honest and sincere in executing their duties with responsibilities, for the 'good of all', 'sarvodaya' as the rights to be enjoyed for ever by sharing and caring. To strengthen the importance of sharing, the father of the nation had gone to the extent of permitting even the violent action, as quoted by Dr. Munusamy the veteran Gandhian, thus: "A bloody and violent revolution is inevitable, unless until the 'power and wealth' is shared with the poor by the riches."28 That means not Gandhi advocated violence but he wanted to emphasise that the act of sharing by the riches to the poor is inevitable in the riches can not but do so. Moreso, Gandhi became the father of the nation only by his constant practice and conviction, as he mentioned in his autobiography that "Truth and Non-violence as old as hills".29 and therefore, he said that he had nothing more to teach the world because he adored non-violence as his religion, for his dedicated services to India and to the entire humanity.
scientific and technology-based education is necessary for 'SELF-ACTUALISATION'.

More than this, the importance of Swadeshi and Sarirasrama (bread labour or dignity of labour) must be imbibed in the hearts of the people, more particularly in the minds of the growing younger generation, through the overall universal literacy and compulsory educational processes streamlined by central and state governments and other voluntary agencies, institutions and organisations.

4.6.2 The Process of Realising Equality in Totality

The following are the comprehensive value-based attempts in reordering the social relationship in the attainment of National Integration by resolving the multiple problems arising through various means by the realisation of equality and fraternity in the light of justice and freedom.

Positive secularism i.e. regard for all religions, universality of god, composite Indian culture, Educational reform - (for socio-economic equality), Gandhian life styles-simple (plain) living and high thinking small is beautiful - one step enough for me - way of dialogue - discussion - compromise and consensual validation with social self-realisation, value system - new approach to Indian values of culture and heritage, and social harmony, communalism, casteism, linguism, regionalism and socio-economic inequality are the principles factors that must be critically approached for attaining equality among Indian people. It is the fact that on 26th January 1950, the Indians have entered into a life of contradictions. As they experience, in politics, they have equality and in social and economic life, they have inequality. Even then, they satisfy themselves by aiming at 'equity' in the place of equality. Whether the
equity leads to equality or not, the attempts that we do must be a comprehensive, overall thorough remedial measures for achieving equality through the constant practice of fraternity. Equity - Equality by practice of fraternity and Justice aim at the realisation of socio-economic equality. It is rightly analysed by V.K.R.V. Rao, thus: "we must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. Social democracy means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life."

4.6.3 The Starting Point of Development in India

India should develop a true democracy, and therefore she must break new ground. In the Indian view, democracy and violence are the terms of contradiction. Even then, Indian democracy stands for non-violence. Truth and non-violence are the basic and fundamental principles in the Indian constitutional set-up. Democracy (non-violence) stands as the link between science (truth) and spirituality (unity of life). The integrity of science and spirituality is the basic need for the salvation of India and the entire world. In such state, democracy will guarantee equality and justice, not only at the cultural and social levels, but in fact, more certainly in the economic field.

As J.C. Kumarappa, the Gandhian Economist, states: "If India aims at a true democracy it should first guarantee 'equality and economic and social justice' for the masses. She has therefore to develop self-control and adopt simplicity, implying an economic order based on self-reliance and self-sufficiency at least in primary needs - food, clothing, shelter, pure air and water. Democracy cannot exist where there is starvation, nakedness and poverty alongside of glut and glamorous living, which indicates exploitation of the weak by the strong."
Therefore, planning for a democracy in India should organise a village or small group of villages, into units of development and achieve self-sufficiency in primary needs. No development worth the name will be possible without fulfilling the basic needs. It is the first step for attaining equality and growth and development gradually in India.

4.6.4 Resurrecting the Indian Constitution: An Appraisal

Moreover some unsolved issues of absence of single national language, social planning and backward classes and the centre state relations will be dealt with in accordance with "A new approach to Indian planning and Resurrecting the Indian Constitution with a new specific provisions and amendments".32

i) The proper distribution to maintain equality, ii) The participation of masses of India in true sense of the term, iii) The penetration crisis, iv) The legitimacy crisis.

The socialisation through national pattern with very many diversified vocationalised - education courses, and above all the judiciary to interpret genuinely are the must in order to facilitate the national educative processes to promote national unity, emotional integration and peaceful co-existence.

The setting up of National Integration Council, the securing of national and controversial issues and the administrative and legislative relations between the union and the states must be improved with special care for the promotion of National Integration in India by resolving its multiple problems.

4.7 The Role of Majority in Democracy: An Overall Appraisal for India's Integration and Emancipation

The concept "democracy" plays a significant role in different ways in the world political arena. The attribution of required status "majority" to "democracy" is the essence of 'democratic polity'. However, this appraisable estimation to show the worth (quality) of it by this concrete analysis. Majority
and 'Democracy' in up-to-date context, is more worthier and evaluative than any other superficial and speculative conceptual analysis in philosophical forum.

4.7.1 The Concept of Democracy: An Analysis

Democracy means Government of the people by the people and for the people or in short, government of the people. It explicitly shows that all the people without any distinction of Caste, Colour, Creed, Region, Religion and parties, reign the Government. How is it possible for 'all the people to reign' the Government for the 'welfare of all'? It is the speciality that we see in the democratic Government, unlike in Totalitarianism (Single will that reigns) and anarchism without any Government of any 'sort' (Utter lawlessness).

4.7.2 The Essence and Existence of Democracy

Eventually here we would like to discuss the significant role of the 'concept of majority' in relation of 'democracy'. Majority is the essential factor in democracy because it is the 'essence' of democracy, whereas it's appraisal (value estimation) is the 'existence' of it. How is this value-estimation done in the achievement of majority-based democratic government? Whether the 'essence' (majority) preceeds 'existence' (value estimate) or existence preceeds essence?

4.7.3 When Majority Preceeds Values: The Root of All Crisis

When 'majority' is gained out of all the possible and feasible ways (practical principle) of exploitation Demarkation, proposing pseudo hopes and aspirations and even with illegal and inhuman practices in the pre-election and post-election campaigns and follow-up - Government proceedings in discharging the duties to the people in totality, there comes the crisis of all values in the attainment of majority. In this context, we can very well say that majority is not conducive to the 'ideals of democracy'. Since this majority is not gained through right means, its very existence (value basis) is strongly questionable.

4.7.4 The Modern Indian Conception of Democracy

Among the Indian Modern Renaissance Philosophers, Swami Vivekananda was strongly against the adoption of democracy in the Indian polity because he perceived that the present Indian Society has not developed yet, on the contrary, Gandhi was the other one who strongly advocated democratic set-up of Government for India with 'socialistic principles' with the moral weapons of Non-violence, Satyagraha based on Sarvodaya and Anthyodhaya.
4.7.5 The Existentialism and Other Faculties on Democracy

It is the good thing that we adopt 'democracy' according to the wish and will of Mahatma in our polity, but we forget the moral as well as spiritual dimensions of it. It is only the 'existence of democracy' in question, although we have 'essence of democracy' in abundance. The existing problem: 'TO BE or NOT TO BE' is found in 'Democracy' in abundance by threats, confusions and dangers because of evergrowing faulty psychology, faulty sociology, faulty economics, faulty culture, faulty education and faulty politics. The core of Existentialism can be known by its dictum 'TO BE IS TO ACT, AND TO CEASE TO ACT IS TO CEASE TO BE.'

The very act or actualisation as the primary sign of 'to be' (or) 'existence', has the very act of 'value estimation' (Existence). It is the first requisite for democracy. Therefore, it is not the majority that precedes values of democracy but 'value based ideals in actualisation' in each and every individual in social action, determines the very existence of majority in democracy. Hence the integrity/harmony that dwells in thoughts, words and deeds determines the necessity of majority in establishing democratic government, or otherwise only the instable, ever diminishing, short rooted and utopian government shall be formed in temporality in all senses at any circumstance. Therefore, TO BE A NATION IS TO UNITE, AND TO CEASE TO UNITE IS TO CEASE TO BE A NATION - for the achievement of an enlightened humane society for ever, as the everlasting, optimistic global and ever - progressive one.

4.7.6 The Majority vs Minority

The Educational philosopher D.J.O. Connor states "A society in which 95 per cent of the population were mentally defective and 5 per cent of high intellectual gifts would not be a representative democracy but it would form more probably be a slave state." He is right in grasping the awkward position of minorities, though they are intellectuals in comparison with the majorities. Here this distinction is done with reference to the intelligentsia of the minorities rather than their linguistic, communal, caste, religious and regional bases. The latter additions, could easily be subsidised or eradicated with the proper education of the mind. These minority groups with reference to majority in the democratic set-up, are not constant but ever changing. It is our view of consideration that generates the 'Minority' and 'Majority' in our democratic social set-up. For instance, a particular society may be in 'majority' in one dimension of our perusal, and it may be in 'minority' in one another dimension.
(religion, caste, region and language). Therefore, the 'minorities' are with in the
majority - itself because in the democratic structure, the selected and elected
government is established with the required representation, that Government
'must work for all' without any discrimination whatsoever. It is the special
characteristic feature of our democratic social structure. The last or least
(anthyodyhya) must be taken into consideration without any specification of
restrictions. Therefore, it is not the 'Minority' Vs 'Majority' rather 'Majority
within Minority' or 'Minority within Majority', as the relation between parts and
whole, a holistic and global synoptic view, of the entire society.

4.7.7 The Majority and Hinduism

The 'Hindutva' ideology that separates the 'Hindus' from the fold of
other Religious people in India goes to the extent even to call Muslims, parsees
and christians in India as Hindu Muslims, Hindu Parsees, and Hindu
Christians. It is not philosophically or theologically based one, rather very
sentimental and pseudo-secularistic in the Indian context. It is the very explicit
sign of not practicing the ideal of democracy as envisaged in our constitution.
In order to achieve the integrity of the nation, the sovereign Republic,
Socialistic, positive secularistic and Daridhramanarayana (Swami Vivekananda’s
views) and the Trinity values of liberty, equality and fraternity with the quality
of caring and sharing must be in practice without any discrimination of any
sort. Then only the actualisation of new social order can be in reality, till then,
this kind of false propaganda will definitely misguide the people at large with
the hope that this propaganda would help in gaining 'majority' in the Electoral
campaign. The proper education alone can shape, change and transform the
minds and hearts of the people in order to teach a time bound lesson to the
misnomers and misinterpreters of democratic nationalism. To a certain level
this lesson is taught, but still more concrete actions are required to stop it once
for all without affecting the social equilibrium.

4.7.8 The Nationalist Democracy

The spirit of Nationalism/nationhood is perceived with reference to each
individual's participation and engagement (an act of taking pledge) in the
welfare of the nation i.e. the development and prosperity of each and every
person in India. Hence it is not the individual alone to be taken into
consideration, but like him, all the members of that nation are uniformly
considered in the 'Nationalised democracy'.

4.7.9 The Liberal Socialistic Democracy

It is the facticity that democracy stands for both liberalism and socialism. The former is distinctively adopted in a well developed social structure (U.S.A.) whereas 'socialistic democracy' may be distinctively adopted in an under-developed social structure. But in our country we adopt both 'liberal and socialistic dimensions of democracy', since we are neither fully developed nor we are under-developed but 'developing country' with the actualisation of fundamental dogmatic principle of 'Unity in Diversity' in all aspects of constitutional and consensual proceedings of administering the democratic India.

4.7.10 The Individuals' Duties and Rights

The right of 'individual/single citizenship', is the fundamental quality of 'socialistic democracy'. The individual has got all these rights such as, (a) Right of equality, (b) Right to freedom, (c) Right against exploitation, (d) Right to freedom of religions (e) Cultural and educational rights, and (f) Rights to constitutional remedies.38

To secure his 'goodlife' he has all the above mentioned rights by earning his livelihood from his 'life of labour' or duty. Hence it is the compulsion that all individuals must strive for their livelihood only by 'self-actualising' of their innate powers or potentialities, not only for the good of one's own but also for the best of all. In turn, the one who is in good life will get 'the best'. The spirit of 'nationalistic existence' with its very essence, willing to work or to do one's own duties, will turn each one to the best of all and all in best. It must be achieved by the principles of self-restraint, self-sacrifice, self-renunciation, ahimsa and satya, of Swami Vivekananda and Gandhi alone, because these are all of 'REPUTE AND PAR-EXCELLENCE'. The duties must precede the rights that one who likes to enjoy. Therefore, we should ask, what we have done to the country before we claim that what the country has done for us. Because everyone has an equal right to the necessities of life, as birds and beasts have. He or she must carry with it (right) a corresponding duty and also the corresponding remedy for resisting any attack upon his or her right, a necessary duty to maintain Law and Order and thereby the achievement of Social Justice, Equality and Liberation, of all in totality.

4.7.11 The Quality Based Liberal Socialistic Democracy

The difference among the similar objects are quantitative whereas, the difference among the dissimilar objects are qualitative. The aspiration of an
individual quality instead of quantity, admits, that the society is dissimilar in the psychological, sociological, cultural, political and economic dimensions in the democratic set-up. Among this dissimilarities/diversification/decentralisation, the 'liberal socialistic democracy' aims at the 'quality' of each and every individual citizen of India, under the dogma of 'unity in diversity'.

These multi-dimensions of aspiration, in the pursuit of good life/happy life, of an individual is not for the material needs alone but for 'the person' himself (divine dwelling; reality). Hence the aspiration of 'quality' in individual-society-nation, is in the 'NEO-RE-CONSTRUCTIVE IDEOLOGY'38 i.e. similarity in dissimilarity, quality in quantity. It is not the anti-thesis rather it is in the synthesis, as modernity strikes the 'synthetic importance' in all kinds of aspirations in the liberal socialistic democratic set-up, particularly in the Indian culturo-philosophical heritage.

4.7.12 The Concepts of Minority, Majority and Individuality

Eventually the minority is not of the independent state, rather it is the inter-dependent state in relation to majority, whereas, individuality is the fundamental and basic requirement, that must be opened for further development with progressive and re-constructive conservation with transformative/transfigurative/metamorphosing ideologies in the line of flexibility than rigidity. Therefore, individuality - minority - majority, paves the way for 'socialistic democracy' with liberty but socialistic democracy must act only by the consensual-validation-based social self-realisation; more so, it must be in the general or 'universal self-realisation' than 'social self-realisation' because it may misguide the government, even people and society at large in the minority based, (minority + minority = majority based structure) without any consideration of the last or the least, Anthyodhaya is essential which we aspire as spiritually oriented morally contained citizens of India.

4.7.13 India as a Secular Nation

We have now an opportunity to establish secularism in India (from 1976) in its true sense and all the dimensions on a sound and lasting basis. In a secular nation where all its nationals are equal, majority and minority have no sense or substance, there could be religious or linguistic majorities and minorities, but the tyranny of neither shall be allowed or encouraged. But the spirit of oneness, Indianness, universal brotherhood and sharing and caring are the must for the national survival and for the development of humane slidarity and emancipation.
4.7.14 The Political Parties and The Politicians

Parties shall exist only on the basis of ‘secular objectives’, plans and programmes; only such parties should exist which have a substantial minimum membership on its active roles at any time. No political party that has an almost exclusive religious membership, even if it has not formally debarred other religionist from it, shall be recognised, and all such existing parties shall be required unceremoniously to close down. No politician shall have a right to such status or recognition if he stands only for sectarian or parochial ideals and objectives, or indulges in sectarian activities. All ‘nationals’ without discrimination or exception, must confirm to ‘social laws and behaviour’ made for common good, and none shall have a right to personal law or behaviour inimical to ‘social and national objectives’ or aimed at gaining unfair advantages over some fellow-nationals.

All constitutional and existing laws shall be quickly reviewed and those that are found to have religious or sectarian bias and an universal social basis shall be repealed at once. Anyone not subscribing to this framework shall be denied national status and the right to vote to the political assemblies. This kind of ethical ‘ethnic cleansing’ is urgently needed and now there is the best opportunity for undertaking it and implementing it. This would rid our country off communalism and regionalism for all time. But it needs honesty and courage on the part of a committed government. People won’t object now when the memory of the Ayodhya and Kashmir events is still fresh and vivid in their minds.

4.7.15 The Intangible Elements : The Majority and Unity of India

Anything unbecoming/undue method of reaching majority is only temporal and destructive state only. Therefore, the modern man must be opened to the need and aspiration of the nation by operating himself to accept, recognise and actuate with flexibility for his own and ‘social emancipation’ with active and effective participation in the formation of a new social order in India. It will definitely give the great chance for the development of human excellent by universality/majority of common human/universal-human moral consciousness. These all will be for all i.e. each individual is for the society, society is for the nation and nation is for the each and every individual citizen as all the intangible elements. Even in this state of majority the dogma that must be in vitality “To be a nation is to unite, and to cease to unite is to cease
to be a nation'. It is the spirit of unity of Integrity that must vitalise the nation always with majority also for National Integration. Then only, the majority is the right majority, all other types are only pseudo-minority (or) minority + minority = majority, only in temporality, not of permanence. Let us hope for the permanence, as we aspire always for the life, in all permanence or eternity.

4.7.16 The Science Cum Spirituality : An Utmost Necessity

The strength of democracy would really depend upon a proper synthesis between science and spirituality. More affluence and material comforts without a sense of ethical values is bound to prove calamities at the end. As Rishi Vinoba has cryptically observed "Science’ possesses force, speed, and action but has no sense of ‘direction’. It is only spirituality which could impact this sense of direction to the advance of modern science and technology".

Such a fine harmony between material and ‘spiritual values’ would be impossible of achievement in a society where there is full of violence, hatred and coercive regulations. That is why, Rabindranath Tagore visualised ‘a free India’ thus : "where the mind is without fear and the head is held high; where knowledge is free and words come out from the depth of truth" such a ‘heaven of freedom’ can never be attained through the impure methods of class rivalries, social conflicts and authoritarian controls.

4.7.17 The Concept of Dharma - An Innate Quality of Man

Only two days before his passing away, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed in unambiguous words : "The essential objective, to be aimed at is the quality of the individual’ and the concept of dharma underlying it. The earlier we comprehend this eternal principle of public life, the better for us and the country. The concept of Dharma, is the spirituality of all religions. The spirit of Dharma is not merely the performance of one’s own religious duty or fulfillment of obligations, it signifies the righteous behaviour to sacrifice oneself, to follow the ideals of truth, integrity and service.

4.7.18 The Unity by Right Majority

If we practise the following ‘Rig-vedic hymn’ in our day-to-day prayerful lives, certainly it will bring in us the unity by ‘Right Majority’, according to the cherished goals envisioned by Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Swami